

[p80]

economics: general aspect and historical background: 4

- 433 THE CONTEMPORARY economy of Tepoztlán is essentially a household economy of small producers, peasants, artisans, and merchants, whose primary motive for production is subsistence. But it is not a self-sufficient economy and probably was not even in pre-Conquest days. The Tepoztecan economy today forms part of the larger national economy of Mexico and, to a more limited degree, of the world economy. The price of corn, the most important local product, is as much determined by international markets as by local conditions of supply and demand.
- [435] Tepoztlán depends heavily on trade with the outside for basic elements of diet, such as salt, sugar, and chile, which are obtained from nearby regions, and for sewing machines, patent medicines, pool tables, water pipes, steel plows, and buses which are obtained from more distant urban centers. Tepoztlán has few handicrafts, there is no pottery, no weaving, no basketmaking. Household utensils, cloth, baskets, and many other items are obtained by purchase.
- [438]

From the point of view of agriculture, the basic source of livelihood, the resources of Tepoztlán are poor indeed. As we have seen, only about fifteen per cent of the total land area of the municipio is cultivable by plow and oxen. Furthermore, there is no irrigation, which means only one harvest a year. The village could not support itself by farming alone. Tepozteicans therefore seek other sources of income, and are busy doing a variety of jobs during different parts of the year. Some work on nearby plantations, others engage in trade, make rope, produce charcoal, raise livestock, or have some other part-time activity. But with all of this the fundamental problem for most Tepozteicans is that of subsistence.

[434] The Tepoztecan economy, though that of a peasant society, is neither simple nor primitive. It has many qualities well known to the student of rural society in western civilization. Among the more important are well-developed concepts of private property; a high degree of individualism; a free market; the definition of wealth in terms of land, cattle, and other forms of property; a relatively wide range in wealth differences; the use of money; a highly developed system of marketing and trade, interest on capital, work for wages, pawning of property, renting of land, and the use of plow-oxen; and specialization in part-time occupations.

Local Industry and Trade / 161

a luxury. The prestige associated with horse ownership goes back to the colonial period when only leading men of the village were allowed to ride a horse. ²³¹
422

Ownership of horses, mules, or donkeys is on a small scale; most families have only one animal. The largest number of work animals owned by a single family is six horses and four mules. ⁴⁹²
[556]

Hogs are more widely distributed among the villagers. About forty per cent of the families of Tepostlán own at least one hog, and many own two or three. The smaller outlay of capital and the lower gains involved in the purchase and sale of hogs limits hog-ownership to the poorer families. It is interesting to note that a very small proportion of the families in the barrio of San Miguel own hogs despite the fact that this barrio has a large proportion of poor families. This may be attributed to the fact that the road runs through this barrio, and the passing buses and automobiles have killed off too many of the hogs to make hog-raising profitable or safe. ⁷³⁵
[621]

Most of the animals used for food are slaughtered in the village. There is practically no trade in cattle or hogs outside of the municipio. There is also relatively little buying and selling of cattle and oxen within the village, since most of them are traditionally purchased in the state of Guerrero where prices are lower. Some men make it a practice to go to Guerrero to buy cattle for resale in Tepostlán at a nice profit, but this is done on a small scale and only intermittently. Several of the better-to-do farmers became prosperous by doing this during the turbulent years after the Revolution when few dared to leave the village. ²³¹
439
[438]

It is estimated that a team of oxen work on an average of ninety days a year. Since most families do not own their own oxen, the oxen owners do a good deal of custom work. In 1947 an oxen owner charged 16 pesos per day, that is 4 pesos for the driver and 12 pesos for the team. The income from renting a team of oxen for a ninety-day period would therefore be 1,080 pesos, less about 120 pesos for the cost of feed. When oxen are rented by the season, the charge is generally only 200 pesos, but the renter has the obligation of feeding and caring for the animals and assumes all responsibility in case of accident or death. Plow-oxen are also rented in exchange for corn, generally for six *cargas* of corn, worth about 300 pesos in 1947. ⁴²⁷
492
434

Mules and donkeys are considered to yield an even greater income than plow-oxen, for they can be rented for a greater variety of jobs and for longer periods. Mules are used primarily for transporting charcoal, wood, corn, and beans. The rental for two mules was 14 pesos a day in 1947. The income from a team of mules would therefore be close to 300 pesos over a ninety-day period.

Hogs are bought, fattened, and sold by many families, but the profit is kept low because of the local custom of fattening hogs with good corn, which is expensive. A young pig costs about 30 pesos and after a year of fattening can be sold to a butcher for 225 pesos. The cost of food per day runs to about 50 centavos, or 182½%. ²³¹
434
[435]

* For documents on this point see *Indice*, Vol. 4, Esp. 398.

162 / LIFE IN A MEXICAN VILLAGE: *Tepostlán Restudied*

231 pesos per year. Adding to this the cost of the pig, we have an expense of 212½
 434 pesos. If the pig is sold for 225, there is a profit of only 12½ pesos after a year's work.

Raising pigs would seem to be more profitable, but the risk is also greater. A year-old breeder pig costs about 150 pesos, and feed for a year runs to 182½—a total
 [435] expense of 332½ pesos. An average litter of eight, sold at 30 pesos each, gives an income of 240 pesos, providing there are no losses. This income can be obtained for three or four years in succession and then the pig can be fattened and sold for 250 to 300 pesos.

231 The price of livestock, like that of most other items, has increased greatly since
 435 the turn of the century. The sharpest increase has occurred since 1940. (See Table 40.)

TABLE 40. Price of Work Animals in Pesos, 1901-1944.

Years	Plow Oxen	Mules	Horses	Donkeys
1901-1910	40	60	35	15
1911-1920	35	30	25	15
1921-1925	50	100	40	20
1926-1930	60	125	50	25
1931-1935	65	125	60	25
1936	70	150	70	30
1937	75	170	75	30
1938	80	175	75	30
1939	85	180	80	30
1940	100	180	85	30
1941	110	200	100	35
1942	125	200	125	35
1943	200	200	125	50
June, 1944	400	300	200	75

234 Milk is sold locally by less than a dozen families. The local market consists of a
 [438] small but increasing group of schoolteachers and Mexican tourists. Most of the milk produced is converted into cheese and sold in the village. It is estimated that a cow produces an average of two liters of milk daily during a period of seven months a year. At current prices of 45 centavos a liter, this would give an annual
 [434] income of 159 pesos plus about 50 pesos for the value of the calf.
 [435]

231 Cattle owners will often pay the priest to say a Mass for the protection of the
 [782] cattle, and are expected to contribute generously to religious fiestas. When a cow or ox is sold, it is customary for the seller to use a portion of the money to light a candle to El Señor de Ixcatepec. When there are *jaripcos* and bullfights, the larger operators generally contribute bulls and money for *ponche* and fireworks.

[776] Most cattle owners have an image of San Antonio, the patron saint of cattle, in their homes. Horseshoes are believed to bring good luck and are seen on the walls of many houses, especially in the homes of livestock owners.

[789] To keep cattle from wandering away, it was customary for the owner to cut off hair from the ear of the cow or ox and bury it under the hearth. This was done

Local Industry and Trade / 163

with cattle brought in from Guerrero in the belief that the animal would forget its past home.

Milk products are used for medicinal purposes. Whey, cheese, and butter are used for skin rashes, and cheese is used as a poultice for snake bites. Some families use, as a purgative, milk in which a cow's tail has been soaked. Pig's fat is commonly used as a salve for inflammations.

CHARCOAL

The production of charcoal by the burning of oak and other woods is one of the most important sources of income for many Tepoztecan families, but primarily for the poor. Charcoal production demands very little capital and few tools; it utilizes the communal forest resources; it serves as a convenient source of income for the landless peasants and as a supplementary source of income for those engaged in agriculture. As a rule, charcoal production is carried on as a part-time activity by farmers during the slack season. But in the smaller barrios of San Pedro, Los Reyes, and San Sebastián, about fifteen individuals engage in charcoal production as a full-time occupation.

Charcoal production has risen and fallen at different times in recent Tepoztecan history. Charcoal production on a large scale began shortly after the Revolution, when Tepoztecs returned to the village from their enforced exile. Desperately poor and with all their animals killed off, they eagerly turned to charcoal as salvation. This development was encouraged and organized by a provisional president of the municipio, Jesús Monroy, who was imposed by the state authorities in 1919 shortly after peace was established in the village. Monroy called a meeting of Tepoztecs and organized workers into brigades of charcoal burners. As a result, a large portion of the forests of Tepoztlán was practically denuded, and there arose in the village a cleavage between those who wished to conserve the forest resources and those who cut the trees for charcoal.

During the late twenties, Tepoztlán organized a forestry cooperative, the first in the state of Morelos, and large-scale production began again. Conflict ensued and the cooperative ceased to exist in 1937. Since that time, charcoal production has continued on an individual basis. Data on charcoal production in the municipio are available for the years 1934-42. (See Table 41.) During this period 3,921,518 pounds of charcoal were produced. These figures are in all probability lower than the actual amount, for much charcoal is produced secretly in violation of federal forestry regulations.

The tools used in charcoal production are an ax, a shovel, a pickax, and a machete. Charcoal workers generally leave the village for the mountain in the early morning, going alone or in groups of two or three friends or relatives. It is not customary to hire workers in this occupation, because most workers want to come home at the end of the day, and charcoal burning necessitates staying out for a few days at a time. To make charcoal, oak and sometimes pine trees are felled cut up into logs a few feet long, and piled upright to form a charcoal oven or

Local Industry and Trade / 165

occupation. The informant worked for ten days: three days in felling trees and cutting up the wood, one day in collecting the wood at one spot, one day in making the kiln, four days and nights in watching the kiln, and one day in taking off the dirt and putting the charcoal into sacks. The yield was 18 sacks, or 9 *cargas* of charcoal. Each *carga* sold at 13 pesos, yielding 117 pesos. From this sum the informant had to pay 2 pesos a *carga* for transportation to Cuernavaca and 1½ pesos a *carga* for tax, totaling 31½ pesos, leaving him 85½ pesos for ten days' work. Since daily wages in agriculture at the time were about 4½ pesos, the income from charcoal is considered good in Tepoztlán. But charcoal burning is thought of as dirty work, and it ranks very low in prestige, being identified as a last occupational resort of the poor. Nevertheless, some well-to-do families in the outlying barrios spend part of their time in burning charcoal.

Until 1947, most of the charcoal in Tepoztlán was transported by burro to Yautepec. Since that time the bus line has agreed to transport charcoal, so that much of it now goes to Cuernavaca. The price of transport in 1948 was 2 pesos a *carga*. Occasionally a truck from Mexico City or Cuernavaca comes into Tepoztlán to transport charcoal.

CIRUELAS—HOG PLUMS

The *ciruela* is now an important cash crop in Tepoztlán, and according to informants it was introduced into Tepoztlán in 1865. There was little interest until it was discovered that the *ciruela* was pleasant to eat, and more trees were planted.

The *ciruela* can be easily propagated by cuttings. All that is necessary is to prepare a hole some 30 x 30 cms. wide and about 70 cms. deep and to place in it a branch from the mother tree—a branch 2 to 3 meters long and 5 to 10 cms. in diameter. The hole is then filled with soil and tightly packed. Cuttings may be made at any time of the year with good results. The only precaution necessary is to see that the cuttings are not disturbed while they are rooting, lest the young roots be broken. The trees begin producing in from 3 to 4 years, and production increases as the trees grow. Trees grow to a huge size. (See Fig. 32.)

Ciruelas first became a cash crop in Tepoztlán about 1901, or shortly after the railroad was built through the municipio. But transporting the *ciruelas*, by mule to the railroad and then by rail to Mexico City, incurred great expense and delay. Irregular train schedules often caused the fruit to spoil. After the highway was built, merchants from Mexico City and Cuernavaca sent their trucks to Tepoztlán during harvest, and the cash crop value of the *ciruelas*, transported in this way, increased. They are packed in wooden boxes known as *guacales*. Each *guacal* contains about nine gross of *ciruelas*. The price of a *guacal* in October, 1943, was six pesos. It is estimated that Tepoztlán exports about 7,000 *guacales* a year, a total crop value of about 42,000 pesos.

Prices are fixed by merchants from Cuernavaca and Mexico City. The merchants get together and decide among themselves what they will pay per gross for the fruit. Mexico City is the principal market.

168 / LIFE IN A MEXICAN VILLAGE: *Tepoztlán Restudied*

283 Until a few years ago, ropemaking was done only in response to specific orders from individual buyers, and each producer took great pride in his product. In
 ● 434 the last few years, however, some producers have been competing with one another, and profits have been reduced. (See Table 44.)
 [477]

TABLE 44. Estimated Cost of Production of Rope, 20 Varas Long.

<i>April, 1944</i>	<i>Pesos</i>
Cost of 3 lbs. of <i>ixtle</i> fiber	3.75
Preparation of fiber	1.00
Cost of twisting	.70
Cost of spinning	1.50
Labor cost in rope twisting	.50
Total production cost	7.45
Sale price of rope	8.00
Profit	.55

[435]

Since all the labor is done by members of the family, there would be a daily income of 3.70 pesos plus .55 for profit above cost.

438 CIRCULATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS

439 The circulation of goods in Tepoztlán is carried on by means of the local market,
 443 stores, itinerant merchants, inter-village trade, the sale and purchase of goods in

283

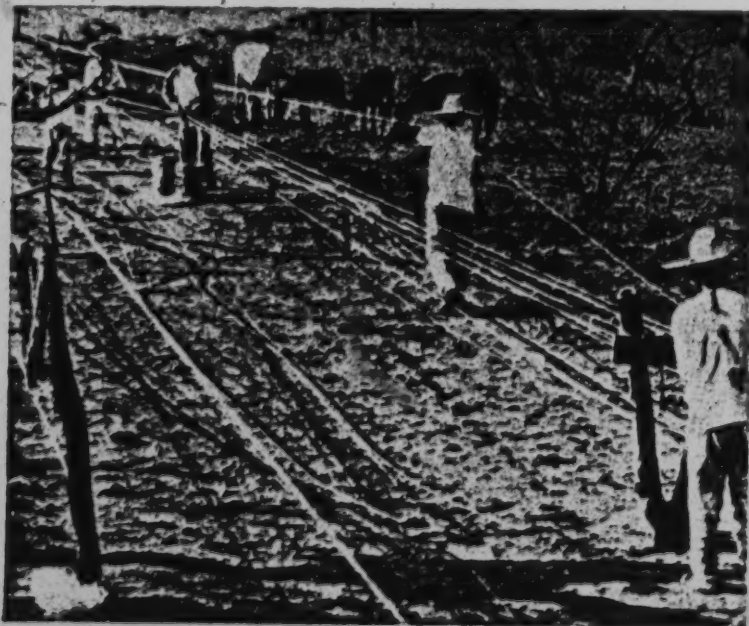


Fig. 33. Ropemaking.

Wealth Differences and Levels of Living / 175

(40-99); and 4.4 per cent in the upper group (100-407.4). The lowest group can be broken down into three subgroups: those with 0 score, from 1-19 and 20-39, which we shall call I-A, I-B, and I-C, respectively. The middle group will be referred to as II. The upper group will be III-A (100-159) and III-B (160 and over).

To test the validity of our groupings, we asked ten informants to name the ten wealthiest families in the village. All those named were in our top group. Another way in which we checked our scale was to present names selected from each of the economic levels of the scale and ask informants to rank them according to their wealth. Again we found a very high correlation.

What are the characteristics of each of these economic groups? First let us consider the families with zero scores. For the most part they are either young married men, most of whom live with their parents, who also have low scores; or they are widows or old men, many of whom live alone. One-third of this group are women who manage to earn a living by small-scale trade and by doing odd jobs.

Groups I-A and I-B, which consist of 511 families with scores 0-19, contain 97 per cent of the landless people in the village. Three hundred and fifty-four, or 70 per cent, of the families in this group have zero scores for land. How do these landless people live? Approximately one-third depend upon *hacrolol*, but all depend upon a variety of activities which together provide a meager income. Many burn charcoal, sell wood, work as peons, are small traders, or have some other part-time occupation. They have some measure of security in that most of them own their houses and house sites or will inherit them. About one-third have hogs. Less than one-third own a mule, horse, or donkey.

The 119 families in Group II include most of the artisans and merchants as well as better-to-do farmers. The former are the most acculturated group in the village. They are the ones who wear ready-made clothes, send their children out of Tepoztlán to high school, and generally have a higher standard of living.

Group III consists of 38 families, all of whom have high scores on land, cattle, or both. About one-half of these families have inherited their land from wealthy relatives who before the Revolution were *caciques* and dominated the village. The other half have worked their way up to their present position.

We might ask whether there is any relationship between position on this scale and standard of living. Do the wealthiest people have the highest standard of living? On the whole, the people in Group III consume more meat, milk, eggs, and bread, and they generally live in better constructed and better furnished houses, some of which have running water. But they are not the ones who go in for modern dress or any ostentatious spending for comforts or luxuries. They are a hard-working people and not a leisure class. One of the distinguishing characteristics of this group is that they generally have hired men all year around, but, with the exception of two men, they work side by side with their peons.

What is the relationship between wealth and the adoption of new traits? The Mexican Census of 1940 included three interesting items which provide us with

511
556

[28]

434
511
556
735511
556
[77]

[77]

THE VILLAGE • 97

the forest resources sharply reduced charcoal production in the village and many families have thereby lost a traditional source of income. Some found work as agricultural laborers on the two or three gladiola farms that have been established in Tepoztlán; others have been employed by the nearby Y.M.C.A. Many more found work in Cuernavaca or as day laborers on road construction.

The changes in the occupational structure of the village have accentuated earlier trends. The number of nonagricultural occupations increased from 26 in 1944 to 33 in 1956 and the number of people engaged in these occupations rose from 273 to 365. This increase has been accompanied by greater specialization and a decline in the role of agriculture in the total economy. In 1944, approximately 70 percent of those engaged in nonagricultural occupations also farmed; in 1956, the comparable figure was only 25 percent! Today there is a much greater participation of women in the nonagricultural occupations than formerly. Women still predominate as teachers, *curanderos*, and corn merchants, but they now are also full-time tortilla makers, dressmakers, and hairdressers. Other new occupations in the village are those of tailor, *ciruela* merchant, and milk merchant. The increase in the number of teachers has been striking—from 21 in 1944 to 101 in 1956, an indication of the growth of a middle class in the village. Whereas formerly there was a shortage of teachers in the village, there is now a shortage of teaching jobs, and 70 Tepoztecos teach in rural schools outside of the village. Other occupations that have shown a large increase in numbers are: bus line employees, from 22 to 35; barbers, from 15 to 22; butchers, from 13 to 32; and storekeepers, from 20 to 64.

The distribution of people engaged in nonagricultural occupations by barrio shows an intensification of the older pattern of concentration in the larger central barrios: La Santísima, 27 percent; Santo Domingo, 25 percent; San Miguel, 23 percent; Santa Cruz, 11 percent; San Sebastian, 8 percent; Los Reyes, 5 percent; and San Pedro, 1 percent. Similarly, 85 percent of those engaged in the new occupations come from the three central barrios. The trend toward barrio differentiation of occupations, however, has been offset by a spread of services from the central plaza to the barrios. Each barrio now has its own corn mill and at least one store. Another interesting and symptomatic change has been the rise in the number of money lenders—from about 6 in 1944 to 18 in 1956. This reflects a much greater need for cash as well as an influx of wealth.

The only occupations that have shown a decline in the number of members since 1944 are those of carpenter, *curandero*, *chirimilero* (flute player), maguay fiber collector, and charcoal maker. The *buebuechiques* (ceremonial barrio officers) have completely disappeared, as I predicted in my earlier study. The *chirimileros* are being replaced by modern secular musicians. As noted earlier, the decline in charcoal making was forced on the village by the federal authorities.

The most dramatic occupational change and one which has become a major new source of income to the village is the *bracero* movement. In 1948,

98 • THE CHANGING VILLAGE

177 fewer than thirty Tepoztecs were *braceros*—that is, temporary agricultural
 464 workers in the United States; by 1957, over six hundred men had been *braceros*
 167 for periods that varied from forty-five days to over a year. This occupational
 [463] change has made for other great changes in the village. In 1943, Tepoztlán
 suffered from an acute land shortage. Now, because in many cases the *braceros*
 return to the village only to rest a few months before setting out for another
 period in the United States, it suffers from a shortage of manpower, and many
 [433] *milpas* go uncultivated. The *braceros* earn more in some months in the United
 [434] States than they could earn in almost two years in the village, and many of
 [454] them have invested their savings in improvements for their houses and in
 [294] land and cattle. Many have brought home portable radios, mechanical toys,
 clothing, and cloth—the village now has four full-time tailors who are kept
 busy providing tailor-made pants for the villagers. Although the *bracero* move-
 [186] ment has broadened the perspective of some Tepoztecs, who now greet
 American visitors with a few words of English, most of the *braceros* are isolated
 in work camps or on farms, speak no English, live on a Mexican diet, and on
 the whole learn little about the United States and its way of life. Very few
 learn agricultural skills that can be applied in the village.

[556] Most of the *braceros* from Tepoztlán are young men between the ages
 of twenty and thirty. They come predominantly from the upper segments of
 the lower economic group (Group I) but also from the middle group II (see
 p. 37). Few come from the poorest families and fewer from the wealthier fam-
 ilies of Group III. This is an interesting change from the pattern in the early
 forties when only individuals with political connections and with experience
 outside of the village became *braceros*. At that time most Tepoztecs feared
 [186] to leave the village for a distant country or even to go to the government
 recruiting stations for *braceros* in Mexico City. With more education, the
 younger generation developed a greater readiness to explore the outside world
 and to dare the hazards of a long journey. The sudden spurt in *bracerismo* did
 not occur, however, until a school teacher in one of the outlying villages became
 [875] a *bracero* recruiter (locally called *coyote*). He had been a *bracero* himself and
 knew how to make the necessary legal arrangements. Tepoztecan men paid
 him a fee in the hope that he would get them longer contracts and also jobs
 in California rather than in Texas or Arkansas. The fees, which the *coyote*
 purportedly shared with government authorities, ranged from 200 to 400 pesos
 depending on the length of time of work specified in the contract. Most of the
 [426] villagers who signed up had to borrow from local money lenders at the usual
 high rate of interest but they had avoided having to deal directly with the
 authorities and so had found the courage to take the initial step.

[433] The *bracero* movement has served as a partial though temporary solu-
 [648] tion of the agrarian problem in the village. Tepoztlán has become dependent
 on the United States economy. Were the United States suddenly to close its
 borders to Mexican *braceros*, there would probably be a crisis both in the
 village and in the nation.

177 Another important change in Tepoztecs is their greater readiness to
 425 sell their land. In 1943, it was difficult to find anyone in the village who would
 consider selling a housesite or an agricultural plot. For example, in 1942 a

102 • THE CHANGING VILLAGE

177 in attitudes and values and in the quality of interpersonal relations. It is too
 156 early to tell how deeply these changes have affected the ethos and character
 571 of the villagers, but all signs point in the direction of more profound changes
 to follow. In 1956, Tepoztecs seemed on the whole more outgoing and
 [609] friendly and less bothered by the presence of outsiders. Children were noisier
 and smiled more; they were as apt to run toward as away from a stranger.
 Indeed, they begged tourists for centavos. Small groups of unchaperoned
 [882] adolescent girls laughing and talking together were not unusual sights, and
 occasionally a village girl might be seen walking side by side with a boy in
 broad daylight. In general, the villagers were more accepting of their sophis-
 [476] ticated members and provincialism seemed to be on the wane. There was more
 competition for jobs and scholarships and in general display.

That Tepoztecs have more drive and ambition for self-improvement
 [167] is obvious. The young people are restless and have found the courage to leave
 the village to look for better opportunities. They are making greater demands
 on their parents for education, and they have more confidence in and more
 ability to cooperate with people outside the family over longer periods of time.
 Friendship not based on formal reciprocal relationships has become increas-
 177 ingly important; *compadrazgo* has assumed a new significance in providing
 [572] connections and social advantages. Material success and a higher standard of
 [608] living are consciously admired and worked for and the motivation to hide
 556 wealth is weaker. Respect has come to be based more and more on wealth and
 [555] social status. Education imparts higher status; a young man or woman who
 has a teacher's certificate expects to be treated more respectfully by his or her
 [875] elders. The middle class, especially, feel that status is also gained by discard-
 [771] ing folk beliefs and practices and becoming more Catholic.

It is apparent, then, that Tepoztlán has made great strides ahead in
 177 the past fifteen years. The changes have been uneven, however, and not all the
 433 sectors of the population have equally benefited. Faced with limited agricultural
 resources, low yields, an absence of irrigation, and little prospect of solving
 their agricultural problems through mechanization, the villagers have by-passed
 their agrarian problem and have instead become dependent on new occupations
 and on jobs outside the village.

Most of the changes in the village are enjoyed by the middle economic
 177 group which even in 1943 had shown the most initiative and interest in raising
 556 its level of living. This group has doubled in size and now constitutes about
 565 25 percent of the total population. Moreover, it is no longer merely an
 economic group; it is emerging rather as a true middle class, consisting of pro-
 fessionals, white-collar employees, and self-employed artisans and shopkeepers
 whose values and goals have come to differ substantially from those of the
 peasantry. The sharpening cleavage between the middle and lower economic
 groups, between peasant and nonpeasant, is perhaps the most far-reaching and
 significant change in the village.

Although the lower economic group is proportionately smaller than it
 was in 1943, it still constitutes the great majority of the villagers—approximate-
 ● [434] ly 65 percent. Our data suggest that this group has become even poorer, both
 because of inflation and because its members have been deprived of a tradi-

tional source of income by the prohibiting of charcoal production. Mem-
bers of the lower segments of this group have gained least from the processes
set in motion by the Mexican Revolution. They have been unable or un-
willing to leave the village for jobs in the cities or to work as *braceros*. They
have taken least advantage of the greater educational opportunities. They
continue to farm for subsistence and cling to the old ways of life largely
because these are cheaper. [177
556
565
434
167]

As Tepoztlán moves further into the modern world, it is leaving behind
its Indian language, many of its Indian customs, its local autonomy and the
collective forms of pre-Hispanic times. Even the communal lands—the bulwark
of the traditional order and formerly one of the most important bases for the
corporate life of the community—seem destined to be divided up into *ejido*
plots, and perhaps later into private holdings. With improved means of com-
munication, greater faith in technology, greater dependence on a money econ-
omy and outside jobs, increasing occupational specialization, and a desire for
a higher level of living, a change has come about also in the character of the
people. As we have seen, Tepoztecs are now less suspicious, less withdrawn,
and more concerned with personal development. [177
191
423
571
156]

Tepoztlán today poses many questions which can be answered only with
time. Will the growing individualism bring greater anxiety and frustration?
Will it bring greater participation and trust in government? Will the tradi-
tional patterns of village life be able successfully to incorporate and reinterpret
the present new elements—as has often been done with new elements in the
past—or will the old and stable village culture soon be unrecognizable? Will
Tepoztecs continue to sell their ancient lands and thereby convert Tepoztlán
into a miniature Cuernavaca? Will the recent arrival of electricity be followed
by the establishment of factories and the growth of a landless proletariat? Or
will the village culture absorb the industrialism that seems to be on its way as
some other villages have done?



Changes in village culture are exem-
plified in changing styles. [291]

[A 104 not
processed]